CIA Covert Operations w/ Fmr. Ambassador Robert White

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwzoUfBvTYY (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwzoUfBvTYY)

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OCTOBER 29, 1996 I Ambassador Robert White criticized CIA covert operations to support brutal, repressive regimes in Latin America while the U.S. emphasized the value of human rights in its foreign policy criticisms of communist countries. He discusses the 1954 coup in Guatemala and human rights there, Contra drug running, and US activities in Afghanistan. He also called for more openness by the agency. After his remarks, he took questions from the audience.

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discusses his memoir I want to thank my brain for remembering me then at nine from Brown University a panel discussion on the state of literature about books continues Sunday at nine with an interview with editor Jayne Garrett she talks about some of the prize-winning book she's edited during her career at 9:30 a reading by author Frank McCourt and at 10:30 retired federal judge Leon Higginbotham talks about his new book shades of freedom about books Saturday and Sunday nights here on c-span - next the role of the CIA in the post Cold War era Robert White head of the center for international policy discusses the issue and his efforts at public accountability for the agency the Women's National Democratic Club hosted the event before we start today's program just a couple of announcements of up and coming luncheons this Thursday we have Karen Nussbaum who will talk about women labor unions and campaign of 96 this is our last speaker before the elections to address the issues facing us in this campaign and then I urge you all on November 5th next Tuesday please put it on your calendar take a friend go and vote and the club will be closed for food during the day because we will be having our party that evening and as of now we have over a hundred people signed up to come we will be learning the Macarena we will be and I'll give you a little hint of our food our Arkansas light fare Alma tells me is probably going to be Arkansas barbecue on buns cornbread and collard greens so I hope you all will join us for that evening I have I would like to welcome all our

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have I would like to welcome all our guests today and I invite you two to come to our election party on November 5th I'd like to make special welcome to The Ambassadors wife who is with us today Marianne white thank you for coming Marianne she's sitting down here and now I'd like to turn the program over to Dorothy Dillon our vice president for programs who I know needs no introduction to all of us but it's only appropriate that I call on Dorothy who arranged this program today and is also a longtime friend of ambassador Weitz to introduce him to us Dorothy please welcome her with the applause thank you very much I am very pleased today to introduce a fellow radical let me explain we have a group of retired foreign service officers who have reserved most of all their careers in Latin American we meet once a month a deck or a house to have lunch and usually with a speaker now these are a mixture of Democrats and Republicans I don't know what the actual mix is I would suspect they're more Democrats than Republicans but they were fairly conservative Bunch in the old meaning of conservative you know the classical historical meaning change but not too much and not too fast but not going backwards well Bob white and Wayne Smith who

most of you know because he has spoken here at the club many times and myself we're sort of the three radicals of the group at least they look upon us as kind of radicals and I use that in the original sense of the term liking to get to the root of problems not in the

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get to the root of problems not in the way it is generally used ambassador white has spent most of his career in Latin America he has served in many countries he ended up in as ambassador in Paraguay and then in in El Salvador prior to that he had served as head of the Latin American Peace Corps he even made one tour of duty in in his early career so he's been other places than that America but most of the time there for the last eight years or so he has been president of the Center for in dimeric international policy which is a private independent think-tank here in Washington and the particular project that he's engaged in at the moment is a year-long project with the world affairs in collaboration with the world affairs council to study what will should be the role of the Central Intelligence Agency in the post-cold war world you know there's been a lot of press attention to the CIA recently various allegations have been made about their activities and I think it's a very good time to take a look at what it has been and where we would like to see it go so it is with great pleasure that I introduce ambassador Robert E White he will talk to us about his ideas and the center's ideas on the future of the CIA Thank You Dorothy for that that kind introduction Dorothy Dylan herself played a strong and constructive role over many years with the u.s. Information Agency president chase it's a pleasure to be

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president chase it's a pleasure to be with you today if we had to choose one time in one place the United States foreign policy went wrong in my opinion that place would be Guatemala and that date would be 1954 confronted with a government unresponsive to US pressures the CIA overthrew that elected government and replaced it with a military dictatorship since that time the CIA has worked closely with the Guatemalan army the owner of the worst human rights record in this hemisphere recently I traveled to Guatemala and I met with a member of the Guatemalan legislature a man with an outstanding Democratic and centrist record now this legislature was less impressed and several members of our delegation thought he should be with the Clinton administration's support for democracy and for Human Rights yes he said ambassador Marilyn McAfee had carried out an admirable policy designed to advance negotiations towards a peace treaty between the government and the revolutionary movement yes ambassador McAfee had consistently supported democracy and human rights yet he hinted there were officials in the embassy in the embassy who contravened and subverted the policy being carried out by the Ambassador to illustrate his point he asked delegation why is it do you think that the United States has the most stable government in the hemisphere I groaned

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government in the hemisphere I groaned inwardly for I knew what was coming the United States is the most stable country in the hemisphere he said because there is no American Embassy in Washington for the last 40 years this story has been told and retold the length and breadth of Latin America yet it still has the power to dismay at least this former Foreign Service owns American embassies and consulates around the world exist to safeguard American interests in a manner consistent with national honor diplomacy divorce dramatical standards and international law betrays the values of the United States and undercuts the relationships of confidence with foreign governments so necessary to the achievement of our national objectives unfortunately the cynicism of the Guatemalan legislature was demonstrated to be well-founded a few months later after the delegation returned the president's intelligence Oversight Board assigned to investigate the CIA rule in Guatemala recognized that the CIA had been working at cross-purposes with the Ambassador and that CIA officers had lied to the Congress about their activities these this investigation and these reveled in these revelations came and came about in large part because of the courage of sister Diana Ortiz and Jennifer Harbury both of whom had suffered grievous harm at the hands of

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suffered grievous harm at the hands of the Guatemalan military and it was only achieved with the vital support of congressman bob torricelli who had the basic integrity to put the life of jennifer Harbury above the secrecy designed to protect the CIA from its own wrongdoing and an aptitude in August of this year the San Jose Mercury News published a series by Gary Webb accusing the CIA of permitting Nicaraguan drug traffickers in Los Angeles to finance the Contra war through the sale of crack cocaine these charges remain unproved and there is ample reason to believe that the newspaper through its graphics and headlines overstated its case CIA director John Deutsch has ordered an internal CIA review of these charges if the CIA review concentrates solely on the Los Angeles connection I have little doubt that the CIA will be found largely innocent if however the review includes as it should Contra drug running into Florida and other cities the results of the investigation could and should be dramatically different as Jack Blum former special counsel to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated in his brilliant testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence last week quote there was however plenty of evidence that policymakers close their eyes to the criminal behavior of some of America's allies and supporters in the Contra war the policymakers

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in the Contra war the policymakers ignored the drug-dealing ignore the drug dealing they're stealing their human rights violations policymakers allowed the Contras to compensate themselves for helping us by remaining silent in the face of their impropriety and by quietly undercutting the law enforcement and human rights agencies that might have caused them difficult Blob continued a careful review of the history of covert operations in the Caribbean and South and Central America show a 40-year connection between crime and covert operations that has repeatedly blown back on the United States the same history will show that operations in the region were for the most part moral and political failures other operations in Asia and Europe have had similar consequences the worst in the narcotics area end of quote Oliver North himself mentions in his notes those notes at least that escaped destruction at his hands that he had advised the Drug Enforcement Agency that illegal drugs had entered the United States on contra supply planes how a nation is organized to conduct its foreign policy will determine in large measure the nature of that policy before the Cold War the management of US foreign policy was centered in a single department responsible to the president the emergency the emergence of several

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the emergency the emergence of several contending agencies has not only complicated and hampered the making of foreign policy but it has led to an exaggeration of threats from abroad as each agency competes for power access and resources in this competition for the foreign-policy dollar over diplomacy has come up the loser and covert activity the clear winner as Thomas Friedman wrote in the New York Times this Sunday budget cuts have forced the State Department to close over 30 embassies and consulates and shut down 25% of the US I a libraries around the world yet the budgets of the intelligence agencies sailed through the Congress largely untouched when the CIA was born Secretary of State Dean Acheson expressed the gravest foreboding his words about the agency warning that once in being quote neither the president nor anyone else would be in a position to know what it was doing or control it of all the US government institutions that evolved to fight the Cold War the CIA came to symbolize that era the CIA assumed the role of carrying the fight against the Soviet Union and against international communism the cult of secrecy that grew up around the agency gave it the ability enviable for a bureaucracy but have odds with our constitutional system of being able to

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constitutional system of being able to justify without public scrutiny the rationale for its own existence and activities covert action has involved our countries in the overthrow of the elected government of Guatemala the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba the formation and training of the death-dealing battalion 316 in Honduras the sponsorship of the decade-long butchery in El Salvador the destruction of Nicaragua through the manufacture of civil war and a long list of less spectacular disasters and I might add that perhaps the chief

entity to suffer was our own constitutional system the one commodity never in short supply in Central America and the Caribbean is information yet the CIA insists it must recruit and maintain on the payroll gross and consistent violators of human rights in order to gather intelligence in my experience this claim is false and self-serving and merits the most intense scrutiny by congressional committees men like general Manuel Noriega of Panama General Gustavo Alvarez of endurance colonel Roberto Alvarez of Guatemala Anna Manuel constant of Haiti enjoyed profitable contractual arrangements with the CIA not because they were particularly important sources of information but because they served as paid agents of influence who promoted actions or policies favored by the CIA in that country this these CIA policies usually

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country this these CIA policies usually but not always coincided with national policy this is not let me assure you of mere historical interest let us take the case of Haiti President Clinton made it clear from the outset of his many of his administration that it was his policy to restore president Aristide and constitutional government to hate yet there is no disguising the fact that the CIA undercut this policy the CIA leaked a psychological profile filled with damaging misinformation about president our student CIA director james Woolsey revealed to a congressional committee that the CIA had kept on the payroll several of the coup leaders most vicious in their crushing of democratic rule and for reasons never explained the CIA recruited a manual cost on the leader of a gang of thugs thugs who spread terror throughout Haiti by intimidating and killing leading our Stede supporters the CIA has made clandestine collection of intelligence and covert action normal routine features of u.s. foreign policy no more certain way to undermine diplomacy and destroy trust between nations can be found there is a role there is indeed a definite role for an intelligence agency in monitoring threats of nuclear proliferation in keeping a careful eye on the development

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keeping a careful eye on the development of weapons systems by potential enemies of the United States by monitoring terrorism and perhaps narcotics instead of concentrating on these real threats the swollen bureaucracy of the CIA has imposed huge numbers of its operatives on US embassies in countries with open societies in many overseas posts CIA staff a number legitimate diplomats I put it to you that that is a shocking statement the standard for international policy has begun its own assessment of national security requirements this initiative was born out of disappointment with the official Commission's the Presidential Commission and the Commission headed by Larry Khan best in the House of Representatives representative Larry Carr best far from proposing reform these reports have instead meekly endorsed the intelligence community's current operations and budget representative Kahn vest even said that his primary job was not oversight of the CIA but advocate for the CIA this is a new definition of the role of these oversight committees the project of the Center for international policy is directed by Melvin Goodman a former high CIA official working with mr. Goodman on

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CIA official working with mr. Goodman on this project our former ambassadors former CIA officers former members of the National Security Council as well as academic experts in national security and several investigative journalists the overall objective of this project is to ascertain if national security can be protected by increasing democratic accountability including declassification and reducing secrecy by ending covert operations except in times of genuine national peril and only against enemies of the United States by restoring intelligence to its proper supportive role in the conduct of Foreign Relations by entering mutual agreements with other democratic governments to end espionage and covert operations in each other's countries by using our intelligence capacity in a more creative way to monitor agreements on international security by going by seeking to reduce terrorism economic espionage and transnational crime working to end these scourges as I said how a country is organized to conduct its foreign policy will determine to a great extent the nature of that policy if 90 if 90 cents of every dollar goes in for foreign policy goes to the military and to this

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policy goes to the military and to this end to the intelligence community then you should not be surprised if the solutions that are presented to the present are the recommendations that are presented to the present emphasize military solutions and intelligence at in covert actions over the past four years decades we have over funded spying and underfunded diplomacy as a result the United States has too frequently departed from the path of judicious application of diplomatic influence to gain legitimate objectives we have trampled on sovereignty judicial equality and territorial integrity principles that have served for centuries as the norms of conduct among independent states in the full awareness that the world is still a dangerous place I believe it is time to reassert these fundamental principles and give them the preeminence that they deserve by setting aside covert means at least until legitimate open diplomacy has been tried and found wanting thank you thank you very much if you have questions for max or white please write them on the card provided at your table and hold them up for the hostess - great to the front as your first question what

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to the front as your first question what how much how one should be assuming a Clinton victory which I do how should what should the how should we form the CIA but I think it the first step would be to separate operations from analysis as most of you are aware the CIA really divides into two parts the analytical unit which at least theoretically brings in all the information from over at sources from covert sources from newspapers from from every source possible and then writes prepares estimates repairs assessments of important foreign policy issues to the present situation reports of you in our view it is vital to separate this analytical function from the operational function from the dirty tricks department because we know from history let us take the example of William Casey as head of the Central Intelligence Agency it is well known in public that

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Agency it is well known in public that several important CIA analysts left the CIA because director Casey rejected those analyses that did not meet and so his expectations that did not support the Reagan policies in Central America this puts analysis at the servant casts analysis in a sense as the servant of the policy and they inevitably are these pressures even if you have a a CIA director who understands and sympathizers with the the need to keep the two functions separate for example the former CIA director one former CIA director in fact the first CIA director under President Clinton stated publicly that he had put CIA operatives from one region together with the CIA analysts from another reason from there from the same region there was he put operatives together with analysts in order to facilitate communication but you see this is precisely what should not be done what because what happens is that it gives privileged access to information that is clandestinely required and in in my view at least a 90 percent of the world most of the valuable information

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world most of the valuable information comes from over it sources so I think that's the basic recommendation that I would make in order to separate in order to ensure that the president gets unbiased analysis and separates it from operations has any disciplinary or corrective action been taken against the CIA officials who so consistently sabotage Jewish policy in Haiti not to my knowledge and indeed this is a very important issue that cries out for congressional investigation there was no ambiguity in President Clinton's policy he stated right from the outset that it was his policy to restore constitutional government and to restore president Aristide to the people of Haiti and yet in spite of that and in spite and he succeeded in getting an agreement where whereby the military of Haiti would permit president hours deed to return and yet that the military after signing faithless li violated its pledged word now why did they do it well when the CIA director revealed that we still had on the payroll key members of the hanta that overthrew president

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of the hanta that overthrew president Asti it seemed to many observers that the Haitian generals and colonels believed that they had a friend and advocate in Washington and that if they were still on the payroll that we really could not be serious about President Clinton's policy let me tell you that the militaries of Central America and the Caribbean have long have long ago learned to divide the United States government up into good guys and bad guys and to those that those elements that they listen to and to those elements that they do not listen to and in particular you do listen to the people who pay you and that I think is the explanation for a great deal of our trouble in this region Bob how would you structure a reformed CIA to eliminate its stations third country operations which enable it to exclude the Ambassador and/or DCM from all oversight responsibilities this question puts a problem succinctly and well in theory the Ambassador is given is charged by the president to oversee all operations in the country except if there happens to be a military operation in progress but there are except there is a blatant and regrettable exception and that is that the CIA is except from

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and that is that the CIA is except from the features of ambassadorial responsibility I think that the key here is a to a point first to appoint ambassadors who are truly qualified this does not mean that they all have to be career people not by any means some of our most outstanding ambassadors have been men like John Kenneth Galbraith or Daniel Patrick Moynihan but we must have men and women who have the ability and the background to discharge their responsibilities and to and to have the respect of the country team right now I have known cases where the Central Intelligence Agency was blocked from running an operation in one area of the world not Latin America because of the good sense and prudence of a deputy chief of mission in order to escape his surveillance and his vetoing they moved the whole operation to a neighboring country where there was a more pliable ambassador we simply have to have a rule where the the Ambassador knows and has to approve any operation by the CIA why do you think the CIA was so far off the mark in evaluating the state of the Soviet Union

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that they were off the mark there is no doubt in 1988 then deputy director I believe Robert Gates testified that the Soviet Union was stronger than ever and that we need a in a large increase in military spending in order to counter the increasing strength of the Soviet this is the time when any casual observer and I went to the Soviet Union about 12 times during that period and it was clear to anyone with an eye to see that the Soviet Union was not a functioning entity let me just tell you one anecdote we the Center for international policy ran a the first operation first conference on operation the first conference in in Afghanistan with former US diplomats and academics and and with Afghan ease and with Russians designed to see if there wasn't a way to cut short the end of the of the Afghan war when I was with in 1988 I was with in Moscow with this high Soviet official and we were having a drink and dinner after a hard day's work and in came a group of Chinese and he looked up and he said those Chinese he said they're so hardworking and clever

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said they're so hardworking and clever they can even make communism work now I think that you know that that kind of it was not difficult but I believe that there has been a reciprocal rewarding relationship between Central Intelligence Agency and and let me put it this way visit the the CIA needs enemies because if you have friends there you really don't need all that many dirty tricks so I believe there is a an active search underway at all time to locate and enemies that I'm not all sure are necessarily enemies Senator Moynihan says to close down CIA and leave intelligence to agencies in the Pentagon do you agree well I hear the groans from the audience but I have to tell you that there is something to Senator Moynihan's recommendation you have to put up assuming you need operations at all and I would like to reiterate our current recommendation was still in the process of formulation the covert action should be ended unless

there are unless we are close to to war unless we are truly confronting an enemy and a sense of national emergency prevails throughout our country I think that covert actions have have inevitably as Jack Blum said blown back on the United States for example the huge

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United States for example the huge amount of money that we have that we showered that the CIA showered on a fanatic named goo Lubin Hekmatyar in Afghanistan a man who led the most extreme fundamentalist wing and yet he is also as outlined and Professor Alfred McCoy's recent book one of the leading heroin traffickers in that region and this is an appalling fact that there is a relationship and here I recommend dr. McCoy's book the politics of heroin in Southeast Asia or actually it's now updated to just recall the politics of heroin to all of you but just but you if you're going to have operations then you have to put them somewhere and one thing I will say about the Pentagon is that it has command and control I do not think that if the Pentagon had charge of this type of activity that you would get the kind of cowboy mentality that we have seen in too many cases can the Department of State be reinvigorated and restored to its former importance no country can be great without a great foreign service no country can achieve its role in the world without a first-class diplomacy yet the State Department has been put into the same

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Department has been put into the same category as the Department of Commerce Department of Interior etc and suffers the same cuts as all of these other departments whereas the Pentagon the CIA live behind the firewall of national security their budgets are basically untouchable even when the Penta Kuenn the CIA other excuse me the intelligence community was discovered the National Reconnaissance Office an organization that many of you may never have heard of stole four billion dollars and put it in a kitty still for future use they had already put up a building in Northern Virginia that the Congress had never heard of then a few so Don Quijote Democrats like Pat Schroeder and Barney Frank tried to take the four billion dollars back and put it in the general Treasury which seemed to me a really good idea because if you steal that kind of money and get caught there should be some penalty no Chairman canvassed and a group of his supporters actively worked and one out in restoring this four billion dollars to one four billion dollars back into the intelligence community budget and so I believe that this it is essential for the State Department to be looked upon as the key player in national and foreign policy

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player in national and foreign policy and the key actor the frontline in our national security but I have to say that up until now I see very little evidence that the consciousness of the importance of the State Department has penetrated very far and we part of our project is designed to dramatize the lack of proportionality between the funding lavished on some agencies and the and the penury that causes the State Department to have to close vital installations overseas the Nicaraguan election of last week repudiated the send in these sin Denise tiss what does this mean for Nicaragua the first thing to note about that is that it was a fair election and that the man who got the most votes is going to be ushered in as the next president of the garage WA and at the Sandinistas and Daniel Ortega recognized that they have lost the election and will now go into the posture of the loyal opposition this is a very important development it was unfortunate that both men both candidates represented extreme views the Nicaraguan people are basically a people that like to compromise that like the

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that like to compromise that like the work things of peacefully and I think that if we can continue to play as ambassador John Mostow in Nicaragua has played a wonderfully important and positive role in making certain that the Mayall Nicaraguans understood that the United States have no had no favorites in this race and I think as long as we can maintain that posture of support for democracy but without getting involved in the internal affairs of the country the Nicaraguans will slowly and surely rebuild their country I will regret that

the United States seems to have unlimited funds to destroy Central America but has almost no money at all to help it rebuild what is the source of the CIA a tendency to undercut US policy does it come from within the bureau within the bureaucracy or is it the larger intelligence community as a whole most of the money that goes to intelligence does not go to the CIA most of the money the ghost or intelligence goes for satellites for bases and platforms for electronic eavesdropping now we have to in any sort of reassessment of foreign policy we should take a look at how this twenty five billion dollars or so is spent and what's the record of these of these

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what's the record of these of these efforts and do they really serve do you really need to spend that much money on on gadgetry but I will say this that if you leave aside the huge amounts of money I have never known any government to protest the fact that satellites fly above their country taking photographs I've never known a government to object to the existence of a national security agency and that has the most sophisticated listening gear in the world maybe we may be American citizens should think about it but I've never known any foreign government so what we can say is that as expensive as these toys are they don't interfere with the normal conduct of u.s. foreign policy what we have to worry about is that while covert action and clandestine collection of information while that part of the budget represents only a small percentage of the overall intelligence it is the people who have been involved in covert action that have given the ethos to the CIA the the the deputy directors and directors of the CIA have mostly been drawn from the ranks of covert operatives I've been assuming the top ranks not necessarily the director so what you have to concern yourself with here is not just raw raw figures of dollars spent but that the CIA tends to

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dollars spent but that the CIA tends to see its fortunes tied up with the elites that rule in developing countries it may be that the Soviet Union was the enemy but the CIA played out its role primarily in the countries of the third world and when you have on your payroll leading members of the military and important politicians then then elitist government oligarchic government even dictatorial government becomes a very comfortable arrangement for the Central Intelligence Agency when you have a democracy when you have an hour Steve say then as a result of elections the elites lose at least a good part of their influence in the society and have to educate and have to exercise what influence they do have in a more open responsible way so I think that there is a natural tendency for the CIA to be comfortable with oligarchic dictatorial government certainly that has been the history we read in the press that Latin America is more democratic than ever in history how do you square this with your allegations of CIA subversion of democracy it's true that's here that indeed it is true that there is now more democracy in Latin America than ever before we would have however had democracy decades before this had it not

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democracy decades before this had it not been for the propensity of the CIA and the United States government to distrust democratic leaders the the United States record over the years in Latin America has unfortunately been that of support for dictation there have been some honorable exceptions John Kennedy and his Alliance of Progress they were failings but by and large the direction of Kennedy policy was towards democracy Jimmy Carter who brought in human rights into the vocabulary of u.s. foreign policy this was a tremendous achievement because the Latin Americans pay real attention they have no alternative to the policies of the United States and once president quarter put forth human rights as an organizing principle of US foreign policy towards Latin America we had something around which we could build real support for democracy and that gave the great impetus to the democratic movement in that America I also want to recognize the President Bush by many of his actions particularly his emphasis on free trade and I applaud free of trade although I recognize its limitations and problems I think also did a considerable contribution to to democracy but it make

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contribution to to democracy but it make no mistake the Latin Americans would have had democratic governments and we would have been spared iran-contra and a host of other less back spectacular disasters had we not had the CIA what is the current state of the State Department's intelligence function the intelligence the reason and Research Bureau INR as it's called the State Department has an excellent reputation it does first-class work I am not seeing it recently but that is its reputation I think that this the point is that the more open your intelligence analysts are the more ability they have to communicate with scholars in universities the more frequently their assessments are put to the test I've seen the light of day and unknown the more the better your intelligence analysis becomes the one thing this Dyke's me as certain to defeat first-class analysis is secrecy I recently spoke with a former member of the National Security Council who told me that the last place that they looked for intelligence analysis with the Central Intelligence Agency the first place they look was CNN because and this is an important point is an important point that CNN c-span

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is an important point that CNN c-span other places other entities like that actually bring the news and defuse that important events throughout the entire policy community think think I asked you to think how much it costs both in money and in time to get something that is top secret no distribution around this government so that all policymakers are informed it takes days and perhaps weeks how long does it take if you have it in the Washington Post it's a minute and so secrecy is a highly overrated commodity as a matter of fact in my view one of the chief purposes of these various gradations that try to limit distribution is to build up a small group of people at the top who can say if you knew what I knew you wouldn't hold those views and that I tell you nothing more destructive of intelligent policy analysis could be found 200 tons of fat cocaine to run into this government by the CIA doing the Contras and how did weapons of this judgment in fact I'm gonna aware of the fact that I was inspect our Center for because of any have been involved the City Committee I'm so do you demand that we have a public hearing on the fact that our money was used to banging over 200 tons of crack cocaine and weapons into our community into the United States to fund the caucus I'm sorry you can't you

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fund the caucus I'm sorry you can't you don't have to answer that if you don't want to he's supposed to put it in writing and I would appreciate any more questions in writing yeah if you don't mind I would like to answer it Madam President as I said I do believe that the Contras and people connected with the countries brought in huge amounts of cocaine into this country I also believe that people in the Central Intelligence Agency and in other responsible posts in government knew about this and looked the other way I think that open hearings are an excellent idea and I worry very much that this internal CIA investigation will not respond will will answer very narrow questions and not treat of the legitimate concerns of this gentleman and in particular the black community because as Jack Blum pointed out in this country we have a particular definition of the cocaine problem or the drug problem and that is that if you are an addict you only get into trouble if you violate the law by stealing money in order to feed your have if you're a doctor or a lawyer and have ample resources then you are not a problem by the definition of our society and I think that this is something that does need to be thought about and

01:00:03 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwzoUfBvTYY&t=3603s)

does need to be thought about and addressed and I think that there is a need for the catharsis to find out indeed what were our officials doing during this cocaine the import of by the Contras and people associated with them during the thank you very much I think our time is out there is a paper that you have in the back that people can take as they go out we have a few anybody who wants I have some cards here anybody who wants to fight have any other material that I've referred to or information about our project if you just leave a card with me or with one of my associates we would be glad and pleased to inform you about the ongoing state of our deliberations thank you very much

END